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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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PARTICIPANTS:

Huang Hua, People's Republic of China Representative to the UN
Chunag Yen, PRC Deputy Representative to the UN
Mr. Kuo, notetaker
Mrs. Shih Yen Hua, Interpreter
Dr. Henry Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Ambassador David Bruce, Designated Chief of US Liaison Office in Peking
Winston Lord, NSC Staff
Kathleen Ryan, NSC Staff

DATE AND TIME:

Monday, April 16, 1973
5:40 - 7:55 p.m.

PLACE:

UN Mission of the People's Republic of China
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Kissinger:

With respect to Cambodia, we are prepared to work with you to bring about some coalition structure along the lines that the Prime Minister and I discussed in Peking. We are not committed to any particular personality. And we would encourage negotiations between representatives of Prince Sihanouk and the other forces.

Our objective in Southeast Asia seems to us not totally dissimilar from yours. We want to prevent a security system extending in South and Southeast Asia controlled by one unit and one outside power. We believe this is best achieved if each country in the region can develop its own national identity.

We have reduced our military aid to South Vietnam to the level of replacement. We are not adding to their forces.

With respect to Cambodia, we have no interest in any American dominant or major position in Cambodia. We would immediately honor any ceasefire that is achieved in Cambodia.

So we hope that the situation in Indochina can be pacified. The longer there is a period of quiet, the more certain and permanent the withdrawal will be.

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Amb. Huang: If Dr. Kissinger has no more information, I would like to make some comments on the question of Cambodia and Vietnam. (Reading from document) First, on Vietnam, I am telling you in a personal capacity. Premier Chou En-lai stated clearly the Chinese position during his talks with Dr. Kissinger last February. We hope that the Paris Agreement will be observed by all parties. The Chinese side, on its part, undertook the obligation to respect the relevant part of the Agreement in accordance with the Final Act of the International Conference.

We know that the Vietnamese side has strived to carry out the Agreement strictly. It is no more a secret that prior to the signing of the Agreement, there was a postponement by the US side and it rushed to the South by all means shipments of large quantities of armaments planned for the whole year of 1973. And even when the US troops had withdrawn from South Vietnam, they left behind a considerable amount of equipment and bases to the Saigon authorities. Recently the US side has also indicated to Nguyen Van Thieu that it will continue to give all its assistance to him.

Since Dr. Kissinger has mentioned this question, I think it necessary to set forth my own views.

On the question of Cambodia, the Chinese position is consistent and has been made public. And I assume Dr. Kissinger must be well aware of it. Last February Premier Chou En-lai again advised the US side not to intervene in Cambodian internal affairs any longer so that the Cambodian people could resolve the problem by themselves. As publicly pointed out by Prince Sihanouk after touring the liberated areas, the Cambodian Peoples' Liberation Forces are fighting absolutely alone without the aid of the North Vietnamese troops or of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Forces.

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15

Prince Sihanouk has repeatedly indicated and still indicates, his readiness to negotiate with the US side. However the US side has not only refused to negotiate, but has intensified the bombing of Cambodia, which is most unpopular.

Under such circumstances it is only natural and irreproachable for the Chinese side to state its principled stand in public. We cannot but feel extremely surprised at your extreme disappointment.

It is impossible to find a way out of the Cambodian question by sustaining the Lon Nol traitorous clique. No amount of further US support to Lon Nol will be of any avail. On the contrary, it will only hamper the solutions of the Cambodian question, and at the same time will affect adversely Sino-US relations.

Another question is that in the President's March 16 letter to Chairman Mao--it mentioned that the integrity of China is a fundamental element in American foreign policy, and the US side believes that the viability and independence of China is in the interest of world peace. What is the implication?

The above are comments of mine made in a personal capacity. The last I want Dr. Kissinger to clarify.

Dr. Kissinger: The Cambodian comment was your personal comment, Mr. Ambassador?

Amb. Huang: Yes.

Dr. Kissinger: The implication of this remark to Chairman Mao is for its own purpose and without any reciprocity on the part of the People's Republic, the US side would consider any threat to the integrity of the People's Republic as incompatible with its own interests and with the interests of world peace. This is as an American decision and without request for reciprocity.

Amb. Huang: I have nothing more to comment.

Dr. Kissinger: With respect to Cambodia, since we are arguing between each other. I would have thought that it was in the interest of both of our countries not to put each other publicly in the position of embarrassment. Secondly, many things are possible as a result of evolution that are very difficult to accept as a result of military pressure. And we believe that a constructive solution of the Cambodian problem is possible if it is not the result of military pressures, including discussions with representatives

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16

of Prince Sihanouk.

With respect to American military equipment in Vietnam . I told the Prime Minister the legal position, but I didn't insist on it. And we, therefore, showed some understanding for the first six weeks of the ceasefire. Since the infiltrating is continuing without any sign of abatement, and since we have stopped sending additional equipment, we face the problem where the military balance will be seriously affected unless we do something.

Amb. Huang: A few days ago the Cambodian Prince made some statements, and I am sure that your office has already received them.

Dr. Kissinger: But my office doesn't tell me everything, only that which they think is good for me.

Amb. Huang: On April 8 Prince Sihanouk made a statement to the correspondent of the French News, Alliance France Press; on April 12 at a banquet given by Chou En-lai; and on April 13 he made a statement at the press conference.

I assume that you already have all this, and I won't take your time to tell you what he said. I just wanted to call your attention to it.

Dr. Kissinger: I have read some of it. He has a tendency of blaming me for his difficulties.